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THE
ENGLISH REDISCOVERY
AND COLONIZATION
OF AMERICA.

BY
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THE ENGLISH REDISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.

SPAIN DID NOT FIND OR FOUND THE NATION.

THERE is one question that has many times been asked, but probably not so often satisfactorily answered, since the idea of a great World's Fair in honor of Columbus first took root in the public mind. It has been asked in public and asked in private: asked in the columns of newspapers and asked "Over the Teacups," and perhaps even at the immortal Breakfast Table itself. It is a question that, from a national point of view, lies at the root of the whole matter, and one that every patriotic American will wish to have answered definitely and decisively. The question is, "Did Christopher Columbus ever touch the mainland of North America, and, if so, when and where?"

The only answer that can possibly be given to this inquiry is, that Columbus never saw, much less stood upon, the shores of the continent of North America. In no sense was he the discoverer of that great country which is now known by the name of the United States of America. His marauding and slave-hunting expeditions were confined to the islands, and the adjacent coasts

of South and Central America. The very situation of the first land he saw is doubtful: it is known that it was one of the islands of the Bahamas, but which one it was is still a question. Governor Blake, of the Bahamas, "after a great deal of minute and well-reasoned observation on the spot, has come to the conclusion that the real place where Columbus landed was what is now called Watling's Island, and not Cat Island, as has hitherto been usually believed." It was from this spot that he "wrote home to their Catholic majesties that he should be able to supply them with all the gold they needed, with spices, cotton, mastic, aloes, rhubarb, cinnamon, and slaves.' Slaves—as many of these idolaters as their highnesses shall command to be shipped. Thus ended the visions of those simple natives who, on the arrival of the Europeans, had run from hut to hut, crying out, 'Come, come and see the people from heaven.' Some of them lived to suspect the bearded strangers had quite a different origin." (Sir Augustus J. Adderley, in a description of the Bahamas written for the Commissioners of the Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886.)

In connection with this subject, it may be remarked that Columbus came very near discovering the mainland of Florida, for he was heading directly for the southern part of the peninsula when he was induced to turn and take a more southerly course—some say by a flight of sea-birds, while others affirm that he was guided by the more practical counsels of Martin Alonso Pinzon, his second in command, who is shrewdly suspected of having been in those waters before,

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and of knowing better where he was than Columbus himself. This point is ably brought forward by Professor Paul Gaffarel, in his important work, "Les Decouvreurs Français du XIV^{me} au XVI^{me} Siecle," published at Paris in 1888, and his account may be briefly summarized as follows:

Jean Cousin, in 1488, sailed from Dieppe, then the great commercial and naval port of France, and bore out to sea, to avoid the storms so prevalent in the Bay of Biscay. Arrived at the latitude of the Azores, he was carried westward by a current, and came to an unknown country, near the mouth of an immense river. He took possession of the continent, but, as he had not a sufficient crew nor material resources adequate for founding a settlement, he re-embarked. Instead of returning directly to Dieppe, he took a southeasterly direction—that is, toward South Africa—discovered the cape which has since retained the name of Cap des Aiguilles (Cape Agulhas, the southern point of Africa), went north by the Congo and Guinea, and returned to Dieppe in 1489. Cousin's lieutenant was a Castilian, Pinzon by name, who was jealous of his captain, and caused him considerable trouble on the Gold Coast. On Cousin's complaint, the Admiralty declared him unfit to serve in the marine of Dieppe. Pinzon then retired to Genoa, and afterward to Castile. Every circumstance tends toward the belief that this is the same Pinzon to whom Columbus afterward intrusted the command of the *Pinta*. . . . We must recollect that Columbus had lost all hope, when he was suddenly accosted by

three mariners of Palos, skilled, prudent, and renowned, who became his friends. Were these men inspired by the enthusiasm of Columbus? Nothing is less likely. Reflection, not passion; the knowledge of an earlier voyage, not blind confidence in a single man—decided these cool and cautious navigators. These men were three relatives, of the name of Pinzon: one of them was Alonzo, doubtless the old lieutenant of Cousin. . . . The conduct of Pinzon throughout seems to indicate previous acquaintance with the continent. Columbus's son confesses that his father always consulted Alonzo Pinzon in circumstances of difficulty. He held frequent and long consultations with the latter, both on board his own ship and on the *Pinta*, and decided nothing without having consulted him. At the trial of the suit between Diego Columbus and the Spanish Crown, ten witnesses deposed that the admiral asked of Pinzon if they were on the right course, and that Pinzon had always answered in the negative until the southwesterly direction was taken. Columbus proceeded like a man who only dreamed what he was executing, and Pinzon as though he sought a road formerly traversed by him. He was so convinced, so sure of himself, that Columbus ended by listening to him. Soon after, they touched at San Salvador.

The Journal of Columbus makes full admission of the part played by Pinzon: "Martin Alonzo Pinzon expressed the opinion that we should do better to sail in a southwesterly direction; before all else, it was necessary, he said, to reach the *terra firma* of Asia; we saw the islands soon after."

Pinzon also took a leading part at the discuss-

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sion with the seamen, and strongly urged the continuance of the voyage. It was Pinzon who first announced the sight of land; and, indeed, Pinzon seems to have been both the good and the evil genius of the voyage, for he delayed, deserted, and endeavored to anticipate Columbus at every possible opportunity. In fact, he behaved to Columbus much as he had behaved to Cousin; and Columbus's son, while he praises his qualities as a seaman, complains bitterly of his malignity and contumacy.

Much confusion has been caused in the history of the discovery of America by a duplication on the old maps of the eastern portion of Cuba, and the amplifying of the western or false Cuba into a continent, just as the island of Tierra del Fuego, forming the southern side of the Strait of Magellan, was supposed to form part of an immense antarctic continent. The false Cuba has been supposed to be a real representation of a portion of the North American continent—namely, Florida and the parts adjacent; but the name Cuba written upon it gives the key to the error, the real Cuba being known on these maps as Isabella, which name was given to it by the Spaniards, in honor of their queen. The earliest attested discovery of Florida is that by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1513, although there is a probability that it had been previously found by Sebastian d'Ocampo, in 1508.

The question of the discovery of North America by Columbus must, then, be answered in the negative, and in order to find the true discoverers search must be made among the records of voyages undertaken prior to 1508. The earliest voy-

ages of which any substantial or definite proof can be adduced are those of the Northmen from Iceland and Greenland, resulting in a colonization which lasted from its beginnings in A.D. 1005 until, at all events, A.D. 1347, the year in which we have the last actual intelligence of any voyage between Greenland and Markland, as the nearest of the Norse-American colonies was called. This was probably the present Nova Scotia, being, as its name implies, a wooded country. Farther south was Vinland, corresponding to Rhode Island and Massachusetts; how much more to the southward the Northmen penetrated is not known, but traces of their long-continued presence in the country have been found in the Indian legends collected by the well-known author, Mr. Charles G. Leland, and in other more palpable and tangible remains that have been found in various parts of the New England States. For further details concerning these early voyages, see "The Icelandic Discoverers of America," by Miss Marie A. Brown, now Mrs. Shipley.

Between 1274 and 1325 these colonies are spoken of by M. Paul Riant, in his "*Expeditions et Pelerinages Scandinaviens*," as being affected by the crusading movement in Europe, and in 1312 Bishop Arne, of Gardar, preached the Crusades in Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, and had charge of the appropriation of a tithe of the church revenues for six years, which had been voted by the church councils at Lyons, Vienna, and Trondhjem, for the purpose of the Crusades. A ship arriving from Greenland, in 1325, brought the tithes from the American colonies, consisting of 127 pounds of walrus-teeth, which were sold

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to Jean du Pre, a Flemish merchant, who paid for them twelve livres and fourteen sous (Tours standard).

These colonies were then well known in Europe, and the place where more especially the records relating to these voyages and events were preserved was Iceland. Here the names of Erik the Red, the colonizer of Greenland, and his valiant sons, Leif the Lucky and Thorvald, his daughter-in-law, Gudrid, and her famous third husband, Thorfinn Karlsefne, were household words, especially as some of the most distinguished men in Iceland were descended from the last-named couple. There is little doubt that the accounts of these voyages spread, in a more or less vague form, among the countries which traded with Iceland, and, as Finn Magnusen has shown, English merchants, and more especially those of Bristol, carried on a considerable trade with that island. It is well known that Columbus, in 1477, sailed from Bristol and visited Iceland, and it would be little short of a miracle if the bishop and other learned men with whom he conversed did not relate to him all they knew on this subject, including the fact that, as their records expressed it, "Westward from Spain, over the great sea, which some call Ginnungagap (yawningabyss), there lie lands in the midst which are called, the first one, northward, Vinland the good, the next Markland; still to the north there are deserts, where the Skrælings (Esquimaux) live; then there are deserts still on to Greenland" (Codex Legati Arnæ Magnusen, 770); and again, "From Greenland to the south lies Helluland, then Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland,

which some think goes on to Africa" (Cod. Leg. A. M., 736).

Similar intelligence had probably come to the ears of many merchants and frequenters of the town and port of Bristol, which was then to England what Liverpool is now; and especially was it known to a certain John Cabot, who had arrived there from Venice, with his family, somewhere about the year 1490. Of him more will be said later, but it must now be remarked that Cabot's voyage was not the first that had been undertaken by the English with the express object of discovering lands, of which they had heard more or less definitely, across the western sea. Pedro de Ayala writes to the King and Queen of Spain, on the 25th of July, 1498: "The people of Bristol have for seven years since sent every year two, three, or four caravels in search of the isle of Brasil and the seven cities, according to the notions of this Genoese." William of Worcester mentions a voyage of Thomas Lloyd, to whom a patent was granted in 1480, and who commanded a ship equipped by John Jay of Bristol, but returned after seven months without having landed.

The first of these mariners from Bristol to find the long-sought western lands was John Cabot, with his sons Louis, Sebastian, and Sancho. The nationality of these important personages is uncertain, but the probability is that John, the father, was a Genoese by birth, that is, that he was born at the village of Castiglione, within the confines of the republic of Genoa. It is certain, from entries found by the late Rawdon Browne in the archives of Venice, that the privi-

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lege of Venetian citizenship was conferred on him on the 28th of March, 1476, in consequence of his having resided there for fifteen years, which was the legal qualification of an alien for citizenship. It is practically certain, also, that Sebastian was born before this period; and that when the latter was "almost a child," yet having some knowledge of "humanities and the sphere," his father brought him to England. The probability is that he was born about 1473 or 1474, and came to England about 1490.

The patent under which their first voyage was made was dated the 5th of March, in the eleventh year of Henry VII. (1496). The patentees (John Cabot and his sons Louis, Sebastian, and Sancho) were authorized to sail under the English flag, with five ships, at their own charges, to discover islands, countries, &c., hitherto unknown to Christians; to set up the royal banners, occupy and possess the countries; to pay one-fifth part of the profits to the king, and always to return to the port of Bristol; to bring their goods and merchandise into the country free of customs, and to have the exclusive right of trading with the countries they might discover; and all the king's subjects are charged to render them help and assistance.

The first expedition sailed from Bristol in the beginning of May, 1497, in a ship called the *Matthew*. On the 24th of June, in the morning, they discovered land, and on the same day they found an island, which they named S. Juan, because it was discovered on St. John's day. The map preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, the only direct record we have which purports to come from the land of Sebastian

Cabot, affords the above information, and calls the land first seen *Prima terra vista*. It marks this land at the northern extremity of Nova Scotia, or of Cape Breton Island, which is not separated from the mainland; S. Juan is marked in a position corresponding to that of Prince Edward Island. But as this is hardly likely to have been the first landfall after a voyage from England, and as the next record we have is that they coasted north or northwest, until they were stopped by the ice, it is very much more likely that the northern point of Newfoundland was the locality of the landfall, and that the island called S. Juan was Belle Isle, which could easily have been discovered on the same day as Cape Bauld, even by a vessel which had made the voyage out from Bristol at the rate of about 45 miles a day. The further direction of the voyage is reported with a variety of detail by those who profess to have had it from Cabot. They agree, however, that he went northwest along the coast: "But after some days," says Ramusio, speaking as though quoting Cabot, "I found that the land prolonged itself toward the tramontane (north), which displeased me infinitely. I coasted, nevertheless, in the hope of finding a gulf into which I could turn. I found none; but I remarked that the land continued as far as 56° under our pole. Seeing that in this place the coast inclined toward the east, and despairing of finding a passage, I returned on my route in order to reconnoitre anew the said coast in the direction of the equator, always with the intention of finding a passage to go to the Indies, and I arrived at the part to-day called Florida." Other

accounts speak of him to learn the latitude "circling to" on his left, (account by L)

These accounts remembering with approximation could only be to mean, that foundland, along the latitude about 56° north, not eastward, its former course, ly direction, obliged to steer low the coast, right, or east, him infinitely, the "vast head" turn and seek thay (China), the object of his or on a subsequent the latitude of would bring him therefore into the time Ramusio known as Florida longitude of the extends eastward Cape Hatteras west of that me

accounts speak of vast heaps of ice, which caused him to turn southward until he came nearly to the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar, and "circling to the west until the isle of Cuba was on his left, and nearly in the same longitude" (account by Peter Martyr).

These accounts—allowing for errors, and remembering that latitude could be determined with approximate certainty, while longitude could only be imperfectly stated—may be taken to mean, that the Cabots, having discovered Newfoundland, Belle Isle, and Labrador, coasted along the latter until they came to the place, in about 56° north latitude, where the coast turns, not eastward, but in that direction relatively to its former course. From a general northwesterly direction, Cabot would here find himself obliged to steer almost due north in order to follow the coast of Labrador. This turn to the right, or east, of his former course, "displeased him infinitely," and, taken in conjunction with the "vast heaps of ice," determined him to return and seek a more southerly passage to Cathay (China), which, according to Ramusio, was the object of his search. Either on this voyage, or on a subsequent one, he coasted southward to the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar, which would bring him nearly to Cape Hatteras, and therefore into that part of America which, at the time Ramusio wrote, was vaguely and loosely known as Florida. He would then be in the longitude of the eastern portion of Cuba, which extends eastward of west longitude 75° , while Cape Hatteras and Chesapeake Bay are to the west of that meridian.

From the short time that Cabot had for these extensions of his voyage, it seems more likely that this southward exploration was not undertaken during his first voyage. He was back in London the last week in August, and if his progress during the other portions of his voyage was not more rapid than while crossing the Atlantic outward-bound, he must have had little more than time for his coasting voyage to latitude 56° north, and his return by way of Newfoundland.

His reception in England was highly flattering. To sum it up in the words of Pasqualigo, a Venetian merchant: "The news of his discoveries of the isle of Brazil, the seven cities, and the kingdom of the Grand Khan, produced a remarkable impression. Cabot bore the title of Admiral. They rendered him great honors: he was clothed in silk, and the English ran after him like madmen." Perhaps this title of Admiral supplies the missing clue as to why, in the ambiguous inscription on Sebastian Cabot's portrait, either he or his father is described as *miles*.

Another contemporary, Raymondo de Soncino, writing to the Duke of Milan, Dec. 18, 1497, says: "This Master John (Cabotto) hath the description of the world in a chart, and also in a solid globe which he made, and he shows where he landed. . . . And they affirm that the sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net, but with baskets, a stone being tied to them in order that the baskets may sink in the water, and this I heard the said Master John relate, and the aforesaid Englishmen, his comrades, say they will bring so many fishes that this

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kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there comes a very great store of fish which are called stock-fish." Here we have incidental confirmation of the English trade with Iceland. If more were needed, we have it in an old map of Iceland, dated 1539, in which ships labeled Bremen, Angli, Scoti, and Hamburg, are seen in the ocean off the coast of the island. The map is printed in the first volume of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, along with an immense mass of undigested information, out of which the reader is left to pick his own conclusions as best he can.

After Cabot's return from this voyage, he received from Henry VII. a gift of ten pounds and an annuity of twenty pounds sterling, payable half-yearly out of the customs of the port of Bristol. (Order dated Dec. 13, 1497, sealed Jan. 28, 1498.) On the third of February, 1498, a second patent was granted to John Cabot only, allowing him to take six English ships, of 200 tons burden or under, to convey and lead them "to the Land and Isles of late found by the said John in our name and by our commandment." This patent was found in the Rolls Chapel by Mr. Biddle (*Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, 1831).

The result of this voyage is not fully known. Cabot's papers are, it is feared, irrecoverably lost, having been last heard of as being in the hands of a certain William Worthington, who in 1557, under Philip and Mary, was associated with Sebastian Cabot in the pension previously held by the latter alone. In Hakluyt's earlier work (1582) he says that Worthington was will-

ing to have them published; but in his more complete "Principal Navigations" (1598-1600) he complains that he is unable to get a sight of them. The inference is that they were no longer in Worthington's possession, and to this we shall return later. The evidences we have as to the second voyage are reports of Sebastian Cabot's conversations with his friends, and a letter quoted by Ramusio, in which he speaks of "having sailed a long time west and by north, beyond those islands, unto the latitude of 67 degrees and a half under the North Pole, and at the eleventh day of June, finding still the open sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to have passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would have done it, if the mutiny of the shipmaster and mariners had not hindered him and caused him to return homewards from that place." (Hakluyt, vol. 3.) Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Lord Bacon, and Hakluyt in his Discourse on Western Planting, all name 67° or $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ as the northern limit of Cabot's voyages. This would bring him to what is now called Cumberland Island, and in making this voyage he must have passed Hudson Strait. This strait is not shown in the Paris Cabot map of 1544, but it is mentioned by R. Willes, in a tract reprinted in Hakluyt, as being shown on the copy then preserved at Chenies, the property of the Earl of Bedford, which places the strait between 61° and 64° north latitude, the true position being about 61° north latitude. It seems probable that Sebastian Cabot found this opening, and was unable at that time

to explore it for future use.

After this Spain, giving England, "and by reason where- tion had to th Hakluyt.) H la Cosa, who, words *Mar de* ered by the E the coast, amo Cape S. Joha been derived Cabot himself.

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to explore it further, but reserved the knowledge for future use.

After this voyage, he appears to have gone to Spain, giving as his reason the great tumults in England, "and preparations for wars in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage." (Ramusio, quoted by Hakluyt.) Here he probably met with Juan de la Cosa, who, on a map dated 1500, has placed the words *Mar descubierta por Inglesi* (Sea discovered by the English) and several names along the coast, among which are Cape Ynglaterra and Cape S. Johan. This information must have been derived either directly or indirectly from Cabot himself.

In 1512 Sebastian Cabot took service with Ferdinand of Spain, and in 1518 he was made Piloto Mayor by Charles V., with the duty of examining all pilots leaving Spain for the Indies, as to their fitness for the work. In 1524 he attended the conference at Badajoz for determining the longitude of the Moluccas, and gave evidence as an expert along with Estevan Gomez, Nunez Garcia, and Diego Ribero, all of whom were ordered to produce their maps, globes, and instruments for deciding the matter in question, which was, whether the Moluccas were east or west of the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI., and subsequently altered by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, by virtue of which the discoveries in one-half of the globe were to belong to Spain and those in the other to Portugal. This appointment of Cabot to attend this conference places him among the four most learned geographers of the day, and emphasizes the high regard in

which he was held in Spain. Previous to this, in 1522, he had made overtures to the Venetians for the transfer of his services to the republic which he claimed as his native land, saying that he could show them a way of great profit which he had discovered. But these negotiations came to nothing, although the correspondence seems to have been kept up for many years. In 1547, he was sent for "to serve and inhabit in England," and a pension was granted him by Edward VI., together with the rank of Grand Pilot of England. In 1549, the emperor sent for him to return to Spain, but he refused to do so; and a similar answer was returned to a further demand after the accession of Mary. In 1553, and again in 1555, companies were chartered to open up, if possible, a northeast passage to China, and Cabot was made governor for life of those companies. He did not, however, sail in these expeditions, but made his last appearance in public, being now over eighty years of age, at an inspection and farewell banquet held on the occasion of the departure of the *Searchthrift* on the second of these expeditions in 1556. He is said to have died in 1557, in which year an event occurred that has been already alluded to, and that is not without a certain significance in regard to the almost entire absence of direct memorials of his voyages.

As has been remarked, a pension of £166 13s. 4d. was granted him by Edward VI., to date from Michaelmas 1548. In 1550, the pension granted by Henry VII. was renewed, and a further renewal or confirmation was granted by Mary. In 1557, Cabot was induced, we do not know under

what pretext later (May 2) William W. the reign of married to a ber that Seb quest in Spa the Emperor return; also, session of int which he co ing all this w used all his i and papers. came into t lated by Hak ton never pr urged to do instance decla them to be o order as may fit of our cou suppression of discourses, dra on the face c Spain had use Queen of En which must ha immediately o Spain had fro English discov off from the m Spanish archiv letter from Fe Puebla, their r

what pretext, to resign his pension, and two days later (May 29) a new grant was made to him and William Worthington, jointly. This was during the reign of a Roman Catholic queen, who was married to a Spanish king; and when we remember that Sebastian Cabot had been in great request in Spain, and had been twice sent for by the Emperor, Charles V., and had refused to return; also, that he was supposed to be in possession of information as to a passage to China, which he considered of great value—considering all this we cannot wonder if Philip of Spain used all his influence to get hold of his maps and papers. After Cabot's death they certainly came into the hands of Worthington, as related by Hakluyt; and, as certainly, Worthington never produced them, though repeatedly urged to do so, and though he had in the first instance declared himself "very willing to suffer them to be overseen, and published in as good order as may be, to the encouragement and benefit of our countrymen." (Hakluyt, 1582.) This suppression of "all his (Cabot's) own maps and discourses, drawn and written by himself," looks, on the face of it, very much as if the King of Spain had used his position as husband of the Queen of England to obtain Cabot's papers, which must have fallen into Worthington's hands immediately on the death of the Grand Pilot. Spain had from the first worked against the English discovery, and tried to turn Henry VII. off from the matter. In the transcripts from the Spanish archives relating to England, there is a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to Dr. de Puebla, their representative in England, dated

March 28, 1496, which contains the following significant passage: "You write that a person like Columbus has come to England for the purpose of persuading the king to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain and Portugal. He is quite at liberty. But we believe that this undertaking was thrown in the way of the King of England by the King of France, with the premeditated intention of distracting him from his other business. Take care that the King of England be not deceived in this or in any other matter. The French will try as hard as they can to lead him into such undertakings, but they are very uncertain enterprises, and must not be gone into at present. Besides, they cannot be executed without prejudice to us and to the King of Portugal."

This last remark no doubt refers to the celebrated line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, and finally settled by the Treaty of Tordesillas, by which all lands discovered west of a line drawn 370 leagues west of the Azores were to belong to Spain, and those east of that line, to Portugal. The prolongation of this line on the other side of the globe was also to form a boundary between the possessions of the two countries, and in the then uncertain state of all calculations of longitude, it was not easy to say what lands lay on the Spanish side of this line and what on the Portuguese side. The Portuguese, for instance, who claimed Brazil, as being on their own side of this line, made the same claim with regard to the lands discovered by Cabot. They accordingly sent Cortereal to take possession of them in the name of Portugal; but his expedition came to

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an unfortunate end, and little was accomplished. The Portuguese kept up their claim by marking on their maps the name *Terra Corterealis*, or *Terra de Cortereal*, above which they placed *Terra de Lavorador de Rey de Portugall*, and above that again, far away to the northward, *Terra de los Ing'res* (English). The emphatic marking twice over on the Cabot map of 1544 of *Prima terra vista*, and claiming it as a portion of the mainland, together with the note describing the discovery, seem to have been intended by way of counter-claim to the Portuguese claims on behalf of Cortereal. Another voyager whose alleged discoveries are marked on these early maps was Estevan Gomez, whom we have mentioned as one of the Spanish experts at the conference at Badajoz, and who in 1525 made a voyage along the coast of the United States, but does not appear to have got farther north than $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, or near Cape Ann, to the north of Boston. The only important disputant of the claims of Cabot appears then to be Cortereal, and his name is regularly placed against the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland on the Portuguese maps, while the Spanish and English maps name the English as the discoverers of those lands. A Latin note on a Portuguese map summarizes the voyages of Cortereal: "This land Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, first discovered, and took away with him savages from the woods, and white bears. In it is a very great multitude of animals and birds, also fishes. The next year he suffered shipwreck, and never returned. The same thing happened in the following year to his brother Michael." The name Labrador is

said to have been derived from this circumstance of slaves (labourers) having been taken there. Others say that it was a "labourer," or slave, taken on board at the Azores, who first saw the land, which was therefore called "Labourer's land."

These voyages of Cortereal in 1500 and 1501, however, cannot be regarded as serious rivals to that of Cabot, since they were evidently only undertaken in order to claim these lands already discovered, on behalf of Portugal. The English claim was recognized in Spain, even as early as 1500, since Cosa, in that year, inscribed on his celebrated map the words "Sea discovered by the English." The Spaniards were able to take an unprejudiced view of the matter, because these lands were at that time believed to be within the Portuguese hemisphere as defined at Tordesillas. And here it must be remarked, that the claims of Spain and Portugal to all new discoveries, each country having a hemisphere to itself, left no room for other nations to make discoveries for their own advantage, or even to make voyages to the lands already discovered. Whatever was done, had to be done in a furtive way, and at great risk. Speaking of the French voyages in these waters, Professor Gaffarel says: "As none of them were ignorant of the dangers to which they exposed themselves in thus braving the power of Spain, they prudently kept the secret of their operations, and the silence of contemporaries on the subject of these voyages to Central America may thus be explained." (Gaffarel, "Jean Ango.") From another part of the same book we take the fol-

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lowing passage :—"Spanish and Portuguese exercised a jealous and careful surveillance over all ships, of whatever country, and woe to the imprudent stranger who allowed himself to be surprised by them ! He was considered as a pirate, and treated without pity."

The French, and especially the Bretons, were in reality the only rivals of the English in the region of the Baccalaos, as the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjacent lands were called, from the abundance of codfish that were taken there. The first voyages of the Cabots were followed in 1501 and 1502 by expeditions, probably abortive, or, at any rate, without striking results, undertaken by Englishmen, in conjunction with Portuguese from the Azores. In 1503, Sebastian Cabot is believed to have undertaken a third voyage, when he brought home three savages, and a record has been found of the payment of one pound to a man that brought hawks from the new isle. In 1504, two pounds were paid "to a preste that goeth to the new Ilande," and in 1504-6, we find the first authenticated voyages of the Bretons and Normans. From 1506, we find a tolerably regular series of voyages, until, in 1527, John Rut, an Englishman, found in St. John's Bay nearly fifty ships, English, French, and Portuguese, while in 1543-45, during the months of January and February, at least two ships every day left the ports of Normandy alone for these regions. Into the later history of these rich fisheries, and the quarrels they have occasioned, it is not our province to enter.

In 1534, and again in 1535, 1541, and 1543, Jacques Cartier made voyages of exploration and

partial settlement along the St. Lawrence, which may be said to have been the precursors, although not the real commencement, of the French occupation of those regions.

What especially strikes us in reading the history of all these voyages, and in studying the maps to which they gave rise, is, that with the exception of one or two instances, about which opinion is much divided, such as the explorations of Verrazano in 1523-4 and the alleged voyage of Thevet in 1555-6, the communication with North and Central America seems to have followed with almost invariable persistency one or other of two well-marked routes, viz. : the Spanish route to the West Indies and the English route to Newfoundland. Between New York and Florida the coast seems hardly to have been known. The earliest maps, up to about 1520, leave its very existence in uncertainty, and for many years after the voyages of Verrazano in 1523-4, and Gomez in 1525, who were the first to traverse and describe the coast, the maps made no indication of the long stretch of coast-line between New York and Florida.

The state of European knowledge regarding the American continent was still very unsatisfactory, when in 1584 Richard Hakluyt wrote his famous Discourse on Western Planting, which has been published by the Maine Historical Society. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed on his ill-fated voyage, as recorded in Hakluyt. The accounts of this voyage are interesting for the descriptions they give of Newfoundland at that period, but although, as one of the accounts tells us, the voyage was taken partly in order to search for the

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northern El Dorado, Norumbega, yet, owing to its disastrous ending, the expedition got no farther than the coasts of Newfoundland. The first real attempt at a colonization of United States territory was that of Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. So little was known of the character of this part of the coast that the report of the two captains, Amadas and Barlow, sent out by him, came like the discovery of a new country, although this was in 1584, nearly a century after the first voyages along the two main routes above indicated. The first colonists in 1585 had to be taken off again in 1586, and, other private attempts being also failures, the Plymouth and London (North and South) Virginia Companies were formed. The former extended from Long Island Sound to Maine, and on the dissolution of the company, in 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers made their well-known settlement in New England, having, curiously enough, taken their leave of the Old World at the very port which had given its name to the company on whose abandoned territories they now landed.

It is not our purpose to trace out the history of colonization in America. Enough has been said to show that it is to the northern line of route first discovered by the Northmen of Iceland and Greenland, and recovered in the fifteenth century by John and Sebastian Cabot (who on their first voyage may probably have taken the old route by way of Iceland, as Hudson did at a later date)—it is to this route and to those who followed it that we must refer the settlement of the United States of to-day. French, Dutch, and Swedes, as well as English, all used this route;

but the English became at last the dominant race in the country, and it was men of English birth, or English descent, who, in 1776, took into their own hands the government of their own country.

Quite different has been the part played by Spain in the New World. Without entering into the history of the atrocities committed in other parts of America, we here confine ourselves to denying that Spain took any considerable or useful share in the founding of the United States. A settlement in Florida, which was ceded to England, in exchange for Havana, in 1753, the latter place having been captured during the war, and a line of missions and other settlements along the Pacific coast—these were the chief claims that could be made by Spain to anything like a share in the honor of having helped to found or form the present nation. And these amount to virtually nothing. The honor is due, not to the proud and selfish Spanish grandees—so ably drawn by Kingsley in his immortal "Westward Ho!"—but rather to the Cabots, to the Drakes, Grenvilles, and Raleighs, who braved the power of Spain and defeated her hugest armadas, thereby arresting, in its full career and in the height of its power, a double tyranny of Church and State, which, had it been allowed to hold its course unchecked, would infallibly have strangled, in its earliest infancy, the civilization and freedom of which America now so loudly boasts. When the mines and treasure-houses of Aztecs and Incas had been exhausted, when the last Indian had succumbed to the white man's fetters or the white man's faith, what would have been the condition of the country, under a purely

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Spanish rule? The national conditions and resources at present realized in the United States would not have been in existence. So far from being due to the triumph of Columbus and of Spain, they signalize the defeat of both. The degree of civilization at present existing in Central and Southern America is due, almost entirely, to the same progressive forces working indirectly through the medium of the United States and other advanced powers, not to any virtue of their mother country. It is through the northern route across the Atlantic that the North American continent has received the means and the power to show such evidences of culture and civilization as will be set forth at Chicago in 1893, and their collection and exhibition may well serve as a fitting reminder, to all mankind, that Spain, at all events, did not either find or found the nation.

Ericksson vs. Columbus.

Brown. The Icelandic Discoverers of America. By Marie A. Brown. 12mo, cloth, illustrated, 75c.

"Modern historians are pretty generally agreed that America was actually first made known to the eastern world by the indefatigable Norsemen. Yet in spite of this fact, Columbus has been, and still continues to be, revered as the one man to whose genius and courage the discovery of the New World is due. Miss Brown justly says it should be altogether foreign to American institutions and ideas of liberty and honor to countenance longer the worship of a false idol. The author first proceeds to set forth the evidence upon which the claims of the Norsemen rest. The author charges that the heads of the Roman Catholic Church were early cognizant of this discovery of the Norsemen, but that they suppressed this information. The motives for this concealment are charged to their well-known reluctance to allow any credit to non-Catholic believers, under which head at that time the Norsemen were included. They preferred that the new world should first be made known to southern Europe by adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. Most damaging evidence against Columbus's having originated, unaided, the idea of a western world or route to India is furnished by the fact that he visited Iceland in person in the spring of 1477, when he must have heard rumors of the early voyages. He is known to have visited the harbor at Hvalfjord, on the south coast of Iceland, at a time when that harbor was most frequented, and also at the same time when Bishop Magnus is known to have been there. They must have met, and as they had means of communicating through the Latin language, would naturally have spoken of these distant countries. We have no hint of the object of this visit of Columbus, for he scrupulously avoids subsequent mention of it; but the author pleases to consider it as a secret mission instigated by the Church for the purpose of obtaining all available information concerning the Norse discoveries. Certain it is that soon after his return to Spain we find him petitioning the King and Queen for a grant of ships and men to further the enterprise; and he was willing to wait for more than fourteen years before he obtained them. His extravagant demands of the King and Queen concerning the rights, titles, and percentage of all derived from the countries 'he was about to discover' can hardly be viewed in any other light than that of positive knowledge concerning their existence. The closing chapters of the book are devoted to a comparison between Iceland and Spain—their customs, institutions, and learning—and between the brave Norsemen, who fearlessly sailed out into the unknown ocean in search of adventure, and the cowardly Spanish crew, procured with difficulty and constantly mutinous, who accompanied Columbus. This work is powerfully written, and it cannot fail to impress whoever reads it."—*Public Opinion*. Washington.

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